

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 NEA-09 IO-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07

L-02 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 DODE-00 H-01 NSC-05 SS-15

NIC-01 SAM-01 OMB-01 /091 W
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R 171653Z JAN 75

FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5031

INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

AMCONSUL HONG KONG

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 0256

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NL, CH

SUBJECT: FOREIGN MINISTER VAN DER STOEL'S
VISIT TO PEKING

REF: USNATO 0152

1. DURING TALK WITH DCM ON JAN 17, FONOFF POLITICAL
DIRECTOR GENERAL CHARLES RUTTEN (WHO PARTICIPATED IN
VAN DER STOEL'S TALKS WITH CHINESE LEADERS) CONFIRMED
THRUST OF VIEWS EXPRESSED BY CHINESE HOSTS AS REPORTED
REFTEL, WITH ONE IMPORTANT EXCEPTION: THE CHINESE
ADMONISHED NOT RPT NOT TO TRUST THE SOVIETS IN ANYTHING,
WHEREAS THE CHINESE WARNING RE THE U.S. WAS ONLY IN THE
CONTEXT THAT THE EUROPEANS SHOULD NOT TRUST THE U.S. TO
USE ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO DEFEND EUROPE.

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2. AS REPORTED REFTEL, CHINESE EMPHASIZED THE INEVITABILITY OF A WAR IN EUROPE, WHICH THE SOVIETS WOULD INITIATE WITH CONVENTIONAL WEAPONS. THE SOVIETS WOULD NOT RPT NOT USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE CHINESE SAID, BECAUSE THEY EXPECTED TO CONQUER AND OCCUPY WESTERN EUROPE. IN PHASES REMINISCENT OF CHARLES DE GAULLE, THE CHINESE TOLD THE DUTCH THAT THE US WOULD NOT RISK ITS OWN SURVIVAL BY EMPLOYING ITS NUCLEAR WEAPONS TO REPEL SOVIET AGGRESSION IN EUROPE. THE CHINESE CONCLUDED THAT A STRONG NATO WAS ESSENTIAL AS A SHORT-TERM DETERRENT TO A SOVIET ATTACK BUT THAT IN LONG RUN WESTERN EUROPE'S ONLY SALVATION LAY IN DEVELOPING AN INDEPENDENT AND CREDIBLE NUCLEAR FORCE OF ITS OWN.

3. VAN DER STOEL TOOK SHARP ISSUE WITH THE CHINESE ON THE CREDIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN NUCLEAR DETERRENT AND ALSO EXPLAINED IT WAS NEITHER FEASIBLE NOR DESIRABLE FOR THE EUROPEANS TO DEVELOP THEIR OWN NUCLEAR FORCE. HE MADE NO APPARENT DENT ON CHINESE THINKING AND RUTTEN CONSIDERED THAT THERE WAS A STANDOFF ON THIS QUESTION.

4. FAR FROM DISPARAGING OR ATTEMPTING TO DISCREDIT THE US, THE CHINESE REPEATEDLY STRESSED TO THEIR DUTCH INTERLOCUTORS THAT EUROPE SHOULD COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH THE UNITED STATES IN ITS OWN SELF-INTEREST. ON THE OTHER HAND THE CHINESE REFLECTED A VERY DEEP, PERVASIVE SUSPICION OF THE USSR. IT REALLY CAME DOWN TO BLAMING THE SOVIETS FOR JUST ABOUT EVERYTHING THAT WENT COUNTER TO THE PRC'S PLANS OR INTERESTS ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. THE CHINESE SAID CANDIDLY THAT THEY DID NOT EXPECT AN ATTACK BY THE SOVIETS AT THIS TIME, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE NOT AFRAID OF ONE AND WERE READY IF ONE SHOULD OCCUR. (RUTTEN UNDERSTOOD THAT THE VISIT TO THE AIR RAID SHELTERS IN PEKING WAS A TREAT NORMALLY RESERVED FOR SPECIAL VISITORS).

5. IN ANSWER TO DCM'S QUESTION, RUTTEN SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY DID NOT RETURN FROM THE VISIT WITH ANY SENSE OF ENCOURAGEMENT THAT THE CHINESE WERE MOVING, HOWEVER SLOWLY, TOWARD THE WESTERN WORLD. IN HIS JUDGMENT THE CONFIDENTIAL

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CHINESE SYSTEM WAS COMPLETELY MONOLITHIC AND SHOWED NO SIGNS OF EVOLVING. VISITS BY WESTERN STATESMEN COULD BE USEFUL IN IMPROVING MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND IN DEVELOPING PRACTICAL FORMS OF COOPERATION. SUCH VISITS HOWEVER WOULD NOT, IN RUTTEN'S VIEW, HAVE ANY IMPACT ON THE NATURE OF THE CHINESE SYSTEM.
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